



PUBLISHED DAILY & TRI-WEEKLY BY  
EDGAR SNOWDEN.

## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT,  
WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK, OF PENN.  
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, OF INDIANA.  
ELECTORS AT LARGE,  
John Nichols, of Augusta.  
P. W. McKinney, of Prince Edward.  
DISTRICT ELECTORS,  
First District, Thomas Croxton, of Essex.  
Second District, L. R. Watts, of Portsmouth.  
Third District, Hill Carter, of Hanover.  
Fourth District, S. F. Coleman, of Cumberland.  
Fifth District, James S. Redd, of Henry.  
Sixth District, Samuel Griffin, of Bedford.  
Seventh District, F. M. McMullan, of Greene.  
Eighth District, J. Y. Menifee, of Rappahannock.  
Ninth District, R. K. Henry, of Tazewell.  
OR CONGRESS,  
JOHN S. BARBOUR, OF ALEXANDRIA.  
SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 18.

The letters of General Williams' and the proceedings of meetings in which he participated, published to day, speak for themselves. The inconsistencies of his course and his ready repudiation of his own convictions don't furnish a very safe guarantee of his political constancy to those who may now put their trust in him.

In a review of Mr. Barbour's letter from a republican standpoint, the Valley Virginian says:

"It is to be regretted that more of our public men have not presented their claims from a similar standpoint and from like considerations. Barbour recognizes the results of the war, the changed political and material relations of the South, and the duty of adapting our policies and policies to those relations."

Now that the Mahonites have clearly demonstrated to every unprejudiced man that they do not want any compromise by which the vote of all the democrats in the State can be united upon Hancock, but really do want to risk Virginia's presidential electoral vote and thereby endanger the success of the national democratic ticket, we trust that the uncertainty that has heretofore existed in the minds of many good democrats respecting the particular ballot they shall cast next November has been entirely removed, and that there may be no longer any doubt about the ticket every man in the State who desires the election of Hancock is going to vote.

The mere fact that the Mahonites, after rejecting the fair offer made to them, proposed to submit the question in dispute to the decision of every registered voter in the State, whether qualified to vote or not, afforded conclusive proof that they neither wanted nor would accept any compromise; for no reasonable man could suppose for an instant that the democrats would agree to leave a matter in which they are so deeply interested to the arbitrament of their open and avowed enemies, of whom Sam Balling, who attends Mahone convention, though expressing his intention of voting for Garfield, and "Dr." Norton, who also also participates in the convalesces of the Mahone party and then presides over republican conventions, and who, of course, had the democrats been so foolish as to accept this absurd proposition, would have voted for the Mahonites as the weaker party in order to damage the stronger, and who, just as certain as the election takes place, will vote the regular republican ticket. No, as stated by our Washington correspondent before the conference met, the Mahone men went there instructed from headquarters to vote against all fusion or compromise, and they obeyed instructions to the letter. Now let the democrats of Virginia show their friends throughout the entire country that having, after much wandering, discovered their right path, they intend to pursue it and will vote the regular national democratic ticket on the day of election.

Attorney General Devens, in his speech to the republican convention of Massachusetts last Wednesday, said that "Mr. Hayes, in spite of a democratic Congress, had achieved much for the honor and prosperity of the country; it was proposed to put the ship in the hands of the unionists who, in the hour of danger, attempted to scuttle her; if the democratic party comes into power the legislation of the war will be wiped out; the principles of Lee and Jackson are to control and not those of Abraham Lincoln; the democratic party will prevent the execution of the internal revenue laws in the South and practically disfranchise the negroes by making State superior to national laws through the means of a Supreme Court, the judges of which will be increased for that special purpose; that the debt of the United States will not be safe with the control of the government in the hands of men to subvert whom it was used; that federal officers are not safe in the South, and that it is only by repeated decisions of the Supreme Court that negroes are allowed to serve on juries in some of the Southern States, and that finally should Hancock be elected Southern claims and pensions for rebel soldiers will be paid." Now, in view of the fact that all this was the deliberate expression of the highest law officer of the Government, and was addressed to a convention composed, in the estimation of its members, of the most intelligent men of the most intelligent State in the Union, this speech was the most remarkable one on record, for there isn't an ordinary newspaper reader in the country who does not know that the duties of the President consist in executing the laws of Congress and in appointing officers, and that the first of these Mr. Hayes refused to perform by vetoing the most important and beneficial acts, and that the last he prosecuted to the base purpose of rewarding, with the people's money, the counsellors by means of whose detected frauds he now occupies

the White House. Nor have any of the other mentioned statements better foundation. The unionist to whom he alludes is the man who did more to cripple the South at the Wilderness and at Gettysburg than any other federal officer; the war legislation is incorporated into the Constitution and can not be wiped out unless three-fourths of the States agree to it by separate State action; the principle for which Lee and Jackson fought—the right of secession—was destroyed at Appomattox, and there is no man in all the country who upholds it now; the South being part of the Union and dependent upon it for its prosperity is as much interested in the execution of the internal revenue laws as the North can possibly be, and being inhabited by people of common sense it obeys the laws regarding negro voters and all other laws, knowing that such obedience redounds to its own interest; the public debt is also secured by the Constitution and will be safe until the Northern States repudiate it; that federal officers are safe in the South is proved by the attestations of thousands of Northern republicans throughout all portions of this section, and more patently by the hundreds of applicants for every vacancy that occurs among them; that negroes not only serve on juries in all the States of the South, but also as legislators, making the laws and as magistrates executing the law known by every body who knows anything of the South; that the payment of Southern claims and "rebel pensions" is prohibited by the same Constitution that renders invalid the validity of the public debt, and that can not be changed unless by the consent of three-fourths of all the States, is just as well known, and finally that the South is as peaceful, loyal and law abiding in all its parts as the North was vouchsafed by so loyal a man and so good a republican as General Grant less than four months ago. How then Mr. Devens could have delivered his speech, and how it could have been not only patiently received, but even applauded, as it was, must ever remain unsolved puzzles to people not so intelligent as the republicans of Massachusetts.

## FROM WASHINGTON.

Special Correspondence of the Alex. Gazette.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 18, 1880.

Mr. Jorgensen has gone to New York for the purpose, it is rumored, of inducing the national republican committee to agree for the repudiation of his State to support the Mahone ticket as the surest and most effective way of breaking up the democratic party there.

He says the republicans and Mahonites in Virginia are all the same.

The meeting of the Virginia campaign club last night was so numerously attended that it is supposed the headquarters will have to be enlarged. No president has yet been elected but it is thought one may be at the next meeting and that he will be either Mr. S. C. Meale or Mr. H. O. Claughton, both of whom are spokesmen for the plan. As there seems to be some misunderstanding here and in the North about the political condition of affairs in Virginia it is proposed to invite some prominent democrat of the State to address the club on that subject and to make his speech a campaign document.

Continued from Virginia who have just returned from Richmond where they saw and conversed with people from all sections of the State say that with the exception of the black district and the ninth all the congressional districts will elect the regular democratic candidates, that Garrison, Goode, Cabell, Tucker, Allen, Barbour and Wise, are safe, the two last by large majorities, and that though the chances against Trigg in the ninth district, his defeat is by no means certain. His opponents are Fulkerson, Mahonite, and Newberry, independent readjusters. Of course, Jorgensen, republican candidate in the black district, will be elected, but that he is not certain is proved by the fact of the rumor that he has agreed to support the Mahone ticket provided the Mahonites will vote for him, that is if this rumor be true.

A letter received here this morning from a well known, well informed, and, being from the North, an impartial man so far as Southern affairs are concerned, now living in Richmond, who states that in the opinion of the writer Gen. Mahone doesn't care whether Garfield or Hancock carries Virginia, so that his party sources entire and complete control of the State. This goes to prove what Mr. Popham, editor of the Southern Intelligencer, told me last winter, that Gen. Mahone was for himself and his friends next, and that circumstances would determine his subsequent action. He has secured his senatorship, is now engaged in securing places for his friends, and time alone will tell what he'll be after next. In this connection I may as well mention a rumor current here to the effect that the leaders of the Mahonites are "on the make," and that as there are only a few of them and the stake they are after, the price of the electoral vote of the State is large, the portion each expects to receive will make him comfortable for life.

A terrible and fatal accident occurred at the Arsenal here to day, by which two soldiers—Michael Joyce and J. C. Barry—were killed, the former instantly and the latter within a short time. Persons traveling on the Washington and Alexandria ferry boats yesterday observed a squad of artillerymen practicing at their guns and shooting at a mark in the river. Among the pieces they were using was a Gatling gun. This morning, while this gun was being dragged back to the gun house, a single discharge was heard, and the two men named above, who were in front of it, fell—one dead and the other mortally wounded. It appears that all the cartridges did not explode when it was fired yesterday, but that the one that was discharged then, was exploded this morning by the jamming of the gun over the rough ground. Joyce leaves a wife and two children, but Barry was single.

## NEWS OF THE DAY.

General A. B. Underwood, Surveyor of the port of Boston, met with a distressing accident yesterday morning while on the way to take his place in procession. He was run into by a team driven by a drunken man, having his leg broken in two places.

At Atlanta, Ga., yesterday, Julius L. Brown, son of Senator Brown, and Dr. J. G. Westmoreland were arrested and put under bonds to keep the peace, a difficulty was pending between the two from certain correspondence in newspapers.

A dispatch from Virginia City says: A accident at the Consolidated Imperial mine Thursday night resulted in the death of nine men and one other being dangerously hurt. As the three o'clock shift was coming off and a cage with ten men on it had started for the surface, the cable broke, precipitating the cage down the shaft some 300 feet and 1400 feet of rope piled upon them.

Why Colonel Mosby is NOT IN FAVOR OF HANCOCK.—It is well known that Colonel Mosby is in favor of the election of General Garfield over General Hancock. One of the reasons why Colonel Mosby is opposed to Hancock is that he (Colonel M.) is a republican and General Hancock is a democrat, and the other is that General Hancock issued a proclamation during the war outlawing the Colonel and offering a reward for his head.

Mr. John S. Barbour and others addressed a democratic mass meeting at Winchester to day.

**Williams vs. Williams.**  
General J. H. Williams, the readjuster candidate for Congress in this district on the Mahone ticket, has made for himself a record on the debt question, very inconsistent with his present views on that subject. On the 12th of November, 1878, he addressed the following letter to the Culpeper Times:

WINCHESTER, Va., Nov. 12, 1878.  
To the editor of the Culpeper Times:

I have hurriedly reduced to writing some views on the subject of the public debt of Virginia, and place them as requested at your disposal, hoping they may prove of some value.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION.

To day Virginia, with an empty treasury, is suffering all the ills incident to the reputation of being a repudiating State. Her creditors, enemies and rivals indifferently charge her, wherever interest or feeling prompts, with the repudiation of her just obligations; they declare her ability to pay full interest on her debt, charge the failure to pay, to an unwillingness, and claim that our taxes are light and our means are ample.

Not a few of our own people give countenance to this slur and these charges, and to day we stand before the world charged with one of the gravest of national crimes, viz: Repudiation.

This charge we must meet and answer; our plea, as the lawyers say, is in confession and avoidance. It is true we do not and have not paid our interest according to the letter of the contract. That we are repudiators, in other than in name, we most emphatically deny. There are many good and sufficient reasons and answers, still our defense is not heard, in fact, is not made, before the world, and we are to day enduring all the fearful consequences [save the consciousness of guilt] that attach to so grave an accusation.

Our people—no people—can afford to make light of such a charge. National honor rises above personal honor, as the life of the nation outlasts that of the individual; neither can submit to such reflection; both must be vindicated. It will not do for us to drift along, trusting to the fullness of time to vindicate us. Refutation when full and complete, often fails to overtake the slander. To meet the situation, and silence the accusation, is the duty of the hour.

## HOW CAN THIS BE DONE?

There are creditors of the State who preferred and unpreferred debts, some who get interest, some who get none. The preferred creditors [by virtue of their tax receivable coupons] hold in round numbers \$200,000,000 of principal debt. A class equally meritorious, with no security, hold \$10,000,000 of principal debt and more than \$4,000,000 overdue interest. We owe to the children of the State, represented through the Literary Fund, of principal, something over \$1,000,000. We leave out of view the sinking fund, the settlement with West Virginia, "to be hereafter made," the large arrears to the school fund, and unpaid appropriations.

For the present, ignoring the past, we have, unless some change be effected, interest to provide for, year by year, on \$31,000,000, at 6 per cent. Under the provisions of the "Funding Bill," the holders of \$20,000,000 of this debt pay themselves, or rather they collect their own interest, with an annual revenue of some \$2,500,000, nothing is left for the creditor who has no such self executing contract.

The expense of the government, when economically run, and the schools, absorb the balance of revenue left after the coupons are taken up, and we are annually in arrears some \$700,000. Various plans and schemes have been resorted to, to supplement the revenue; some schemes of taxation have been sought for and spoken of, but all have proved abortive. There is no way to pay full interest, to defray the expenses of the government and fulfill the requirements of the Constitution as to schools, but by

## AN INCREASE OF TAXES.

The increase necessary is at least 25 cents on the hundred dollars of property. So say our best informed men. Against this increase—any increase—the mass of our people stand solemnly and repeatedly pledged. The conservative party, by its late deliverance, in the shape of the platform adopted in the gubernatorial convention in August, 1877, stands committed against it. The present Legislature, with almost unanimity, have declared against it; the Barbour bill [voted by the Governor] pronounced against it. The Boonek Fowler bill as found in the session acts of 1877-78, page 230, declares against it in these emphatic words:

"Whereas this General Assembly has expressed the belief that the present rate of taxation is as high as can be borne without destroying or at least greatly impairing the industrial interests and recuperative power of the State."

This is the preamble, but on its announcements are based its enactments. Here, then, two departments of the government, the Legislature in passing, and the Governor in approving, are committed against an increase. In fact, no respectable number of voters at any time have favored an increase, and no candidate for office, so far as known, whatever may have been his real sentiments, has openly advocated an increase of taxes. The most advanced position has been with an "if necessary," while for years it has been notorious that the revenue was falling short yearly, some six or eight hundred thousand dollars. Under these circumstances, in view of the facts, the only remedy is

## ADJUSTMENT.

Can it be done, and how? Is adjustment practicable, and consistent with the honor of the State? We answer yes, and with no little diffidence submit our plan. Its success depends upon unity of action, for without it there is no hope.

We stop for a moment to call attention to the fact that we have been divided and distracted in council. The discussions of the question have been bitter in the extreme, whilst the difference on last analysis has been seeming, rather than real—the standpoint making the chief difference.

The so-called debt payer, denounces the adjuster as a repudiator; this naturally provokes a harsh reply; the courts come in for a share of censure; in the discussion of their decisions on the vexed question, and in the meanwhile every interest languishes, the treasury is empty, credit gone, and there seems to be no leader for the people, whilst the creditor in silent silence views the question of adjustment, and our discussions.

## THE PLAN.

Refund the principle of the debt, viz: \$31,000,000. Issue bonds to run fifty years, with tax receivable coupons, when and as desired, the bonds to be exempt from taxation, and to bear interest at 3.65 per cent, or one cent per day on the \$100. But the law providing for this refunding to take effect and be operative only after the people at a general election shall have approved or sanctioned it, or provide for it, by a constitutional provision. The sanction of the people to the settlement is the cardinal feature of the plan.

The "sinking fund" and all arrears to be left to the future for settlement. In an article like this it is almost impossible to go into elaborate details, but we present some of the

## ADVANTAGES OF THE PLAN.

1st. All the creditors for the future are put on an equal footing; creditors who have received little or no interest (i. e. Peeler bondholders) will receive interest along with the present coupon bondholder.

gives them a fixed market value, puts an end to the discussion of the debt question, that now is wide spread through the State, and that becomes intensified in each canvass, and that occupies more than half of the time of each session of the Legislature; all which have most materially affected the market value of the present bonds. With this new bond there need be no anxiety, the people give it, and they close the discussion.

4th. The rate of interest is within the means of the State, and is almost as much as the coupon bondholder now receives, when you consider that he sells his coupon in the market to the tax payer through the agency of the broker, and as taxes are chiefly payable 1st of December, the January and July coupons are not sold before November, and there is thus, an average delay of seven months in each year in realizing the interest; whilst the peeler bondholders get nothing.

5th. The security is the same as is now held by the coupon bondholder, and in case of default the coupons can be sold, as now.

6th. Few of the present holders of the bonds were the original holders; the bonds do not, as a general rule, stand them over one-half their face value, and they can well afford to make the exchange.

7th. The settlement is equitable and just in itself. In view of the division of the State, its terrible losses, the war interest, the compromised, or rather the making of interest principal, this offer is one none could be ashamed to accept; whilst policy, the controlling reason, at least, when he is assured it is to be and will be a liability, and such it will be.

But it is urged that the recent decision of the Court of Appeals so strengthens the claim of the coupon bondholder that he is safe and his interest assured, and no offer we may make will be accepted. We reply:

1. Let us make the offer accompanied by unqualified assurances of our ability and will to comply, and then at least we will have the consolation and advantage of having made an honest effort, and a fair proposal.

2. The question in the opinion of some of the best legal minds of the country is not regarded as finally settled.

We propose briefly to discuss this question:

"The Constitution dedicates to the public free school:

1st. The annual interest on the literary fund.

2d. The expiation tax provided by it.

3d. An annual tax of not less than ten cents nor more than fifty cents on the one hundred dollars property of the State.

The Literary Fund, created as early as 1810, is composed by the Constitution of the present Literary Fund, the proceeds of public lands, donated by Congress, and all property according to the State by the forfeitures, and all fines collected for crimes against the State.

The celebrated case of Clarke ex parte, decided by the March term, 1875, it is claimed settles the case and authorizes taxes, and all taxes to be paid in coupons. As you increase or diminish their use, you effect their value; to speak more accurately, the more taxes and kind of taxes and debts to the State, they are used to pay, the greater will be the demand for them, and the greater their market value, and a converse. The opinion of the court proceeds on the familiar principle, that where equities are equal, the oldest right must prevail, and men must be just before generosity; that the schools are quasi elementary institutions, and not to be founded or sustained by a debtor at the expense of his creditor.

It is claimed that the debt is older than the Constitution, and it is only recognized by it as existing, and is not created by it, that the school system is created by it; and that hence the debt being oldest and an obligation, revenue raising, no matter how, must first be applied to it.

Fortunately this very constitutional provision as to taxes is but a re-enactment of a law older than our debt. The Legislature, by a law passed February 2, 1810, enacted that all schools, colleges, academies and universities, and all other educational institutions, should be supported by a tax on land of the value of \$200, to the purposes of education in primary and free schools. The first Legislature under this constitution dedicated the entire moiety to the same purposes, and so the law stood up to the present constitution.

Much of the debt was contracted after this was the law, and creditors investing in our bonds knew they were to get no part of the expiation tax; and again, their right is not claiming the schools and not the creditor should get this revenue.

This article is growing too long; we hurry to notice the school tax on property. The language of the Constitution requires this tax to be levied, no matter if any other be levied or not. When once the Legislature exercises its power and makes this levy, its power is exhausted and it can't levy again; its powers are gone for the year, and if this fund be misapplied, there is no right to make a new levy. But it is said the Supreme Court of the United States will reverse any decision our courts may make, as by a long line of decisions it has held that contracts, like the funding bill, cannot be repealed.

Just this case they have not passed on—I mean that this court has not held that when a constitution dedicates a fund to a certain purpose (to schools), that a Legislature, with powers derived from and under that constitution, can by contract based on any consideration bar it away—give it to any creditor. For one, I do not fear their decision. Our constitution makes this provision for schools; a Legislature acting under the powers conferred by it passed the "funding bill." Suppose there was a purpose to destroy the schools, under the constitutionally enacted funding bill you could do it by giving the creditors what was meant by the framers of the constitution for the schools. As a part of the political history of the times we know we had the terms of providing for schools—a general system of schools by the constitution—imposed on us. We came back (?) into the Union on these terms. I do not believe this court will by their decision sanction the destruction of the public schools. Our Legislature, the judge of what taxes the people can bear, and they, acting for the people as sole judges, have said "no increase," and no increase means their early death unless we adjust. I have indulged in this line of argument not to provoke a contest, but to show we can secure adjustment, and that really the creditor is not beyond reach, if he will not meet us in fair settlement.

I have been induced to submit this plan in an earnest hope that I may in some way help to attract public attention and aid in bringing our own people to an agreement that we may get "nosed" to the creditor and with a single proposition—one we would never make but to secure quiet and peace at home and have our debt honorably settled even in the eyes of our barbed judges.

In proposing a bond with tax receivable coupons I am not unmindful of the wisdom of

this feature in the "funding bills." For none can condemn it more than I, as an original proposition. That it was unfortunate legislation law will deny. That one Legislature, agents and servants of the people, should bridge beyond reach and control the revenues of the State for a generation, no matter what may be their wants and necessities, and annul the power of future Legislatures chosen in the same way and by the same people, is a fearful exercise of power, to say the least.

If I know how to repeal this infamous bill, I would do it cheerfully, effectually, swiftly; but in the hope of repeal our pathway is environed with difficulties.

This plan proposes that the people, the source of power, shall directly sanction and approve this pledge of the revenues of the State; say, shall offer it through their Legislature. As a law made without their sanction, or as an original proposition, it would never receive my support; as one of the people, to secure quiet, to settle this vexed question, to remove it from the hustlers, from the courts, from the legislative hall, I will earnestly support it.

The wise lawmaker must reduce this plan to shape; that it will result in an adjustment honorable and satisfactory I do hope. What we want is an honest, earnest effort; if we fail we have done our duty and the sin will not be at our door. We shall have offered to do equity and insure justice, and even at the expense of conviction shall have offered and given security. Having done this we will dare charge us with repudiation. We can close up our ranks and march on in the broad highway of progress. May heaven speed the day!

Your obedient servant,

JAMES H. WILLIAMS.

In a later communication to the Winchester News he goes more fully into the details of his scheme. We give his communication in full as follows:

## THE STATE DEBT.

[From the Winchester News, Feb. 14, 1879.]

MR. EDITOR: Why can't we settle the State debt now? The moment is opportune, and can we hope for better terms? If the creditor will adjust at 3 per cent, for ten years, 4 per cent, for twenty years, and 5 per cent for ten years let us close at once. What better can we ask or hope to get? The principal debt proper, as put by the Boonek Fowler bill, is \$30,799,071. Add one half interest per annum \$3,399,071.

33,799,071

New \$2,000,000. Can we pay 3 per cent, on this debt? We reduce our coupons now to the extent of \$1,200,000, being 6 per cent, on \$20,000,000, the funded debt with the tax receivable coupons.

Let us see what we can do and what we need to pay out:

Interest on \$24,000,000 at 3 per cent. \$1,020,000

For schools. 500,000

For State expenses. 900,000

Interest on \$2,000,000 at 3 per cent. \$60,000

For school. 500,000

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